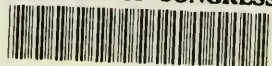


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Howe, R. H.

APPEAL FROM A COUNTRYMAN

TO THE

UNION MEN OF THE SOUTH.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, the hand of God is upon us for our sins, and for the sins of our race. Whether through venality, or for cruelty practised on the inferior race, aboriginal to our fathers, we are now threatened because of our differences of financial policy and our relations to another subordinate race, with political dissolution.

There are those who a short time ago were physically strong in that Union most needed for their protection, who, in the eloquent words of Mr. Calhoun: "We have pulled the temple down that has been built three-quarters of a century. We must clear the rubbish away, and reconstruct another. *We are now houseless and homeless*, and must secure ourselves from storms."

This is the work of no Samson, who in his death has extinguished a host, but rather of a community, who are willing to survive a great nation, perhaps under the dominion of a foreign despot whose El Dorado is peopled with countless naked savages, coveted as bondmen, at a price not higher than that of a donkey, to be obtained alike against the will of civilized mankind and the instinct of self-preservation of our race, which have forbidden their further importation.

It is indeed too true, that of late use has been made of sectional diversity for political ends, affording sad pretext for this most destructive policy, but now, in the moment of their triumph, and of the apparent downfall of our nation, the Republicans have repented them of the evil, instructed by success, they refuse to be guilty of parricide. Will you also learn in time, or does your honor render it necessary that you should suffer all things which civil strife may inflict upon you, that like the Chinese ruler you may punish these Republicans at whose doors the cotton States may be considered to have committed suicide?

Mr. Seward, as Secretary of State to the President elect, has

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spoken in the Senate; he has given pledges, which, from our personal knowledge we assure you, the people of these cities, and of the States to which they severally belong, will see fulfilled.

Remain with them beneath the shadow of our oriflamme, and this great empire, bound together by equity, as the universe is bound by gravity, shall still firmly stand. To this result, we who sign this do solemnly pledge ourselves. God purposes that it should be; for the shots fired into the Star of the West killed no man. Thanks to His mercy, and the forbearance of the gallant Anderson, who lately with prayer, and on his knees, raised our standard, blood is not yet required of the wrong doers.

Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, all had such experience of slavery, while the foreign traffic in negroes continued, that they left recorded in the hearts of their countrymen a sentiment which, in 1831, had almost resulted in emancipation with you. The natural moral consequence of that traffic was the Africanization of the West India Islands, in 1836. An act, by some viewed as a financial necessity, by others as an act of simple folly; by wise men charged, perhaps, in some measure, to both. However accounted for, its influence upon us was unquestioned. It gave rise to that storm of unjust moral accusation which, flowing first from fanatics and fools, later in the mouths of politicians has given pretext for the recent course of our more southern neighbors. But Providence sends no evil upon humanity that, manfully borne, will not at last bear good fruit. The abolitionists arousing your minds to opposition, saved you from the commission of a great wrong, in the emancipation of a race quite as unfit as the Indian to maintain an independent existence, in contact with our own. And now the declaration by Mr. Seward, of his willingness, by an unalterable clause of the Constitution, to prohibit all interference with your domestic relations, is a positive admission of an entire change of sentiment here and throughout the North. Nor do his assurances stop here; he also abdicates the impracticable political position that limits shall be set by man to human increase, as decreed by God. He is willing, in the manner indicated by himself in the Committee of Thirteen, to appropriate to your use the territory south of the Missouri Compromise line, by making it a slave State, whose area gives you a full proportion in the ratio of square miles to representation. Let us hope that his objection, and that of his party, to Constitutional amendments, in the present excited

state of the country, may yet be overcome. Indeed we believe that the wisdom and experience of Mr. Crittenden will suggest amendments to the Constitution that will be adopted, and it is our most sacred duty to warn you that in a government that permits an appeal to the people for its constitutional amendment, every attempt at rebellion without such appeal is in the highest degree criminal, and must divorce from those who attempt it the sympathy of all good men. How much more will this crime be enhanced when you reflect that example is catching, and that you may presently be called on to visit with extermination inferiors suspected of an inclination to imitate the lawlessness of their masters.

The incoming administration are not the choice of a majority of the American people—that majority is at heart favorable to your entire protection. The very vote by which Mr. Lincoln was chosen may be considered a practical denial of the Chicago platform, and Mr. Seward boldly avows that the Union, and such measures as may be necessary to its protection, must have precedence over all the obligations of party.

Do not then destroy your country upon a question which evidently must be a question of time only. Reflect that in the past history of the world, the banks of that great river through which the current of the human race has swept downward into the ocean of eternity are scarred by the floodmarks of successive races, each in its generation sweeping from those cold regions where necessity and its natural accompaniment, monogamy, has produced a hardy and numerous population, gradually overflowing more southern lands. Maintain your present relations of friendship with your race, and so perpetuate an equilibrium for which there is but one analogy—the relation of God's mighty universe. Who is there amongst you willing to have inscribed upon his tomb, "This man survived his country. Born to a name greater than that of a prince, he saw the temple of liberty overturned. Princes and the ambassadors of unknown people came to do honor to the edifice which for nearly a century astonished mankind. The world gazed with awe upon its ruins, and even foreign despots incited by traitors refused to aid in its destruction." Shall it be noted in history that in the same year Italians profited by our former example, in the reconstruction of a nation desolated for a thousand years by discord and its certain accompaniment, foreign tyranny. Companions of our boyhood, friends of our youth, turn back from the fearful

catastrophe—have courage—forget past injustice. The hearts of a mighty people yearn to you—depend upon next year's elections—discard abstract distinctions—they ever force men to bloodshed in the sinful pride of personal opinion. Ask your brethren of the North to do you justice under that common obligation to justice which our venerated Constitution creates, and your request will not be made in vain.

In conclusion, read the following words as an official declaration from the next administration :—

“The different forms of labor, if slavery were not perverted to purposes of political ambition, need not constitute an element of strife in the confederacy. Notwithstanding recent vehement expressions and manifestations of intolerance in some quarters, produced by intense partisan excitement, we are, in fact, a homogeneous people, chiefly of one stock, with accessions well assimilated. We have, practically, only one language, one religion, one system of government, and manners and customs common to all. Why, then, shall we not remain henceforth, as hitherto, one people?”





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